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ANALYSIS OF LUCRETIUS, DE RERUM NATURA I-III

(Continued from pages 5, 13)

14. The shapes of the atoms; the effects of the differences in the shapes of the atoms; the number of such shapes (333-580).

(a) The atoms differ widely in shape (333-380).

(1) Preliminary statement (333-337).

(2) Proofs (338-380):

(1') The fact that the total of the atoms is without limit and beyond count proves that the shapes of the atoms are very many (338-341).

(2') The differentiation of genus from genus and the distinctiveness of individuals within the several genera prove that the shapes of the atoms are very many (342-376).

(3) Summary and restatement (377-380).

(b) The differences in the shapes of the atoms cause differences in the characteristics of the bodies made out of them (381-477). These include

(1) differences in penetrating power. The bodies made up of the smaller atoms have the greater penetrating power; those made up of larger atoms or of atoms more decidedly hooked and hence interlocking have the lesser penetrating power (381-397).

(2) differences in taste, as bitter or sweet (398-401); sweet things are formed of smooth, round atoms (402-403), bitter things of rough, hooked atoms (404-405), that tear their way through our bodies (406-407).

(3) all other possible differences in effects on our senses wrought by bodies (408-443).

(1') Preliminary statement (408-409).

(2') Applications (410-421): to sensations of sound (410-413), of smell (414-417), of sight, i. e. color (418-421).

(3') Explanation of the differences in effects of bodies on sensation (422-433). A pleasant sensation is due to smoothness in the atoms (422-423), an unpleasant to roughness in the atoms (424-425). When an object merely tickles the senses, its atoms are neither smooth nor hooked, but rather have tiny angles that stand out but a little way (426-430). Some things—heat and cold—make their different impressions because their atoms are 'fanged' in different degrees (431-433).

(3'') Statement of an important principle: Sensation is always a matter of touch (434-441).

(a) Preliminary statement (434-435).

(β) Feeling through touch comes

(a') when something without the body works its way into the body (435-436); or

(β') when something innate in the body passes out of the body in a way to pain us (436), or in a way to give us pleasure (437); or

(γ') when atoms within our bodies, colliding, confound our power to feel (438-441).

(4') Summary (442-443).

Verses 434-441, though they flow naturally enough out of 433, are *per se* tangential; they are not a proof of the matter under discussion, but rather a note on the discussion. By the summary, more or less premature (see Note 7), in 442-443, Lucretius brings himself back to his proofs.

(4) other differences, e. g. of density (444-450), of fluidity (451-455). Again, some things are at once pungent and evanescent (456-463), whereas others are at once bitter (pungent) and liquid (464-477), because objects of the former class are made up in the main of atoms smooth and round, in part of atoms sharp, but not <hooked and> interlocking: hence they can puncture our senses but can not cling together; objects of the latter class are made up in part of atoms smooth and round, in part of atoms rough, though not hooked and interlocked.

(c) The number of different shapes of the atoms is not infinite (478-521).

(1) Preliminary statement (478-480).

(2) Proofs (481-521):

(1') The atoms are of limited bulk, invisible.

If the varying shapes of the atoms were limitless in number, some atoms would be of unlimited bulk <and so visible> (481-482), since within so small a thing as one atom there cannot be many different shapes <here shapes = 'least': 483-485>. To illustrate: suppose that an atom consists of three 'least', and suppose that you shift these 'least' about, putting them into every possible combination; <the number of shapes you get will be limited>; to get more

shapes you must add more 'least's. To get an infinite variety of shapes you must add 'least's till you get an atom infinitely big! (486-499).

- (2') Further proof lies in the fact that there are definite, unvarying extremes beyond which our experiences of size, beauty, loathsomeness, etc., do not go (500-521),
 (a) in pleasurable ways—in color, smell, taste, sound (500-507);
 (β) in painful ways—in smell, sound, sight, taste (508-514);
 (γ) in temperature (515-521).

(d) The number of atoms of any one shape is infinite (522-568).

(1) Preliminary statement (522-525).

(2) Proofs (525-564):

(1') Just because there is a limit to the number of different shapes of the atoms, the number of atoms of each shape must be unlimited: otherwise matter would not be infinite (525-531).

(2') Objection met and overthrown: *occupatio* <see Note 14> (532-564).

(a) The fact that certain kinds of living things are, within our experience, rare does not disprove my argument, for there may be many specimens of them elsewhere, with resultant equalization of the total number of specimens (532-540).

(β) If some one thing is *sui generis*, its very birth, growth, and development would be impossible without a limitless supply of the kind of atoms that go to make it up (541-546), for, otherwise, there would not be enough of those atoms to meet; they could no more meet and form a definite thing than can the flotsam and jetsam that the sea tosses about after a shipwreck (551-564).

(3) Summary (565-568).

(e) Comment on the argument of 523-568 (569-580).

As a result of the factors brought out in our discussion <in 523-568>, neither the productive forces in nature nor the destructive forces are continuously superior (569-572); they have been waging war through all eternity, but it is a war in which the honors are even (572-574); now the one set of forces, now the other prevails, even as in man's experience birth and death alternate (575-580).

15. In every single thing there are many different kinds of atoms (581-699).

(a) Preliminary statement (581-588): In every object several sorts of atoms are mixed together (581-585); indeed, the more powers and capacities an object has, the more kinds of atoms, differently shaped, are combined within it to form it (586-588).

(b) Proofs (589-599, 661-699):

(1) The earth—one thing—contains elements that produce so many different things that the earth has been called Great Mother of Gods, Beasts, and Men (589-599).

(1') Digression: Interpretation of the myth of Cybele, and rejection of the myth as at variance with true reasoning (600-660).

(a) Statement of various details of the myth and an allegorical interpretation of them (600-617).

(β) Further details of the myth, told largely for their own sake (618-643).

(γ) Rejection of the myth (644-660).

(a') Preliminary statement: A fine scheme, this, but far removed from the truth (644-645).

(β') Proof (646-651):

(a'') The gods live a life of cloudless peace, far removed from us and our concerns (646-648).

(β'') They need us not; they have not feelings of love or anger toward us (649-651).

(γ'') Inference from the proof (652-658). <It is a waste of time, then, to call the sea Neptune or the earth Magna Mater, but> if a man wants to do so, let him, provided he does not really believe what his words seem to say.

(δ) Summary (658-660): The earth is non-sentient. It is, to be sure, in countless ways the source of life, but it is such source not because it is a sentient goddess, but because it contains within itself so many atoms of so many different kinds.

(2) The grasses and the waters of a given plain support animals as different as sheep, horses, horned cattle (661-668).

(3) The same grasses, the same waters give rise to things as different as bones, blood, veins, moisture, flesh, sinews (669-672).

(4) Bodies that are consumed by fire manifestly contain different sorts (shapes) of atoms—atoms of light, sparks, ashes (673-676).

(c) Summary: Everything contains within it atoms of different shapes (677-679).

(d) Further Proof <see Note 7>. Often one body is characterized by color, taste, smell, very different things, that affect our senses in quite different ways (680-685).

(e) Second Summary <see Note 7> (686-699). Atoms of quite different shapes, then, unite to form one body (686-687), even as many different letters unite to form one word (688-691). So atoms of the same shape are common to many objects, even as many letters are common to many words (688-696); yet the wholes made by these atoms <and others in the objects> are different (697-699).

(f) A warning against drawing an erroneous inference from 581-599, 661-699 (700-729).

(1) Preliminary Statement: Not all combinations are possible (700-701).

(2) Proofs (701-729).

(1') The fact that *portenta*, such as combinations of men and wild beasts (701-702), men from whose bodies branches grow (703), combinations of land creatures and sea creatures (704), or chimaeras (705-706), are not produced is proof that not all combinations are possible: things are born, in each case, of definite seeds, that is, of unvarying parentage, and in growing remain true to their kind (707-713).

(2') The phenomena of the growth of animals point to the same truth: some parts of food their bodies accept, some parts they reject (714-717).

Rejection is the important idea here.

(3') This law holds good also of inanimate objects (718-719). Since they differ widely in nature, they must be fashioned of atoms differing in shape (720-724); further, the intervals between these atoms, the paths they take in moving, the ways they are bound together, their weight, etc., must all differ one from another (725-729).

All this means that in the production of *res genitae* there is a process of selection and rejection of atoms, not universal acceptance of atoms.

16. The atoms are without color (730-841).

(a) Elaborate preliminary statement (730-738).

(b) Caution: Though the atoms are colorless, we can nevertheless apprehend them (739-748).

(1) Preliminary statement (739-740).

(2) Proofs (741-740):

(1') Men born blind recognize bodies by touch: hence we can, by imagination, recognize colorless atoms (741-745).

(2') We ourselves, in the dark, where in effect colors do not exist, recognize bodies by touch (746-748).

(c) Proofs of (a) (748-841):

(1) Since colors are constantly changing one into another, color can be no part of the atom, for, if the atom be not immutable, the world would come to naught (749-756).

(2) If, while denying color to the atoms, we give them different shapes <as we did above: see this Analysis, II, B, 14>, seeing in those shapes the sources of all the varied classes of objects, as of color itself, through the different arrangements of the atoms and their different movements (757-762), we shall easily explain how black objects suddenly become white (763-771).

(3) The view that the atoms have specific color(s) involves contradictions of the facts of experience: a sea fashioned of atoms of one color, say sea-blue, would always be of that one color, sea-blue; it would never be white

(772-775). The view that the sea is fashioned of atoms of different colors and yet remains one single brightness, as a rectangle is made up of varied other shapes and yet remains one shape, is even more absurd, for, though in the rectangle we see the other shapes, we do not mark in the sea different colors <at any one time> (780-783). Indeed, this view involves a contradiction in terms, since there is no such thing as a single brightness fashioned out of varied colors (784-787).

(4) If we are moved to assign color to the atoms in the thought that white things come from white sources (788-789), let us note that the assumption which leads to this conclusion is itself unfounded, for white things are not born of white things; indeed, they come more readily from colorless things than from black or from any other definite color (790-794).

(5) Since light is essential to color and since the atoms do not come into the light (because they are invisible), they are colorless (795-816).

(1') Preliminary statement (795-798).

Attached to this is an elaboration, finely poetic, but logically needless, of the doctrine of 795, that light is essential to color (799-807).

(2') Variations of color, such as those spoken of in 799-807, are due to blows of light (808-809); our perception of color(s) is due to blows on the pupil of the eye (810-812), blows which spring not from the colors of objects but from the shapes of their atoms (813-814).

(3') Summary: The atoms are colorless <but of divers shapes> (815-816).

(6) The persistence of specific colors in specific genera proves that the atoms are colorless, for, since color and shape have no necessary connection each with the other, it follows that, if the atoms had color(s) of their own, we should find such things as white crows and black swans (817-825).

(7) Since, as one makes an object smaller and smaller, its color vanishes more and more, it follows that the <invisible> atoms can have no color at all (826-833).

(8) Argument by analogy. As some things are, plainly, without sound or odor, we infer that some things are without color (834-841).

17. The atoms lack also heat, cold, sound, taste, smell (842-864).

(a) Preliminary statement (842-846).

(b) Proof (847-864). When one essays to make e. g. oil of myrrh, he seeks a scentless oil, one which shall as little as possible affect the mixture he is making (847-853); so, that the *res genitae* may be of the proper nature, the atoms themselves must be tasteless, soundless, etc. (854-859). All such characteristics are perishable: hence they have nothing to do with the atoms. If they had, the atoms would be perishable, and the world would come to nothing (859-864).

18. The atoms, again, lack sense (are insensate): yet out of the atoms are fashioned all things that have sense (are sensible) (865-990).

(a) Preliminary statement (865-870).

(b) Proofs (871-990):

(1) In certain cases we actually *see* the sensible created out of the senseless—e. g. worms from filth (871-873). We see, constantly, senseless things transformed into sensible things—e. g. water, leaves, pasturage into cattle (874-878). In fact, nature transforms all kinds of food into living, sensible bodies, and out of food produces all the senses of animate creatures (879-882), as the result of different arrangements of the atoms and their different movements (883-885).

(2) Example of *occupatio* <see Note 14> (886-930).

(1') Objection stated: The theory under review is, to be sure, hard to believe, because stones, wood, earth do not normally, even when mixed, produce sense (886-890).

(2') Answer to the objection (891-901).

(a) Please note what I really said: I grant that not all object-producing forces beget sense (891-893); important factors in the production of sense are the size of the atoms (894), their shape (895), their movements, and their arrangements (896).

(β) Though we cannot see *how*, under certain conditions, lumps of earth and logs produce worms, still they do produce them, because through the entrance into them of new atoms the former arrangement of their substance is altered (897-901).

(γ) To make, as some do, the seeds of what is sensible (i. e. the atoms) themselves sensible is to make the atoms soft and so perishable (902-904), since sensation is linked always with flesh, sinews, veins, all soft and mortal things (904-906).

(δ) An elaborate 'dilemma' (907-930):

(a') Supposition: Suppose that the sources (seeds) of sensation were at once sensible and immortal (907).

(β') Statement of the consequences of the supposition (908-909). They must then <theoretically>

(a'') either have the sense of a part only of a sentient creature; or

(β'') precisely the same sense as a whole living creature has

(γ') Answer to (a'') (910-926), in two parts.

Part 1: In point of fact, a part cannot feel by itself: e. g. a hand severed from a body cannot feel (910-913).

Part 2, itself in the form of a 'dilemma' (914-926):

(a'') If the seeds feel as we feel [i. e. if the seeds of which we are talking have precisely the same sense as a whole living creature has (914-916)], then, on the one hand, <if always, into whatever combinations they enter, they keep their sense>, either it will no longer be possible to call them *primordia*, since, as sensible things, they will be mortal (917-919); or if we allow the atoms to be at once sensible and immortal, then, through the union and combination of different sorts of atoms²², every one of them sensible, there would result only strange and monstrous sentient creatures (920-921), as monstrous as would result from the combination of men, cattle, and wild animals (922-923).

(β'') On the other hand, if, <as they enter into combinations>, they lose their original sense, and gain another, it was useless for them to have that sense at first (924-926).

(δ') Summary, framed, however, as if it were a new argument: Sensation can be begotten of that which is not sensation (926-930).

(ε) Another example of *occupatio* (931-972).

(a') Objection stated: Sensation can be developed out of non-sensation by a 'change' <of the atoms> or by a kind of 'birth' <of the atoms> (931-933).

Lucretius writes very vaguely here. Those whose view he is opposing seem to have held that, though the atoms, when isolated, were non-sentient, they underwent a change, when they entered into a combination, as the result of which they became sentient, and so were in a sense 'born'.

(β') Answer to the objection (934-972).

Birth implies (previous) union: so too does change (934-936). Until there is a union of the atoms (a birth, yes, but a birth of a *res genita*, not of the atoms), there can be no sensation at all, because, prior to such union in a *res genita*, the atoms, non-sentient, are scattered in air, water, etc., and have not yet met, and so have not entered into those movements which alone beget sense (937-943). That sensation is due to the union of the atoms, not to the atoms *per se*, is clear from the fact that a blow too heavy for a given thing takes away from it sensation (944-946), manifestly because the blow changes the arrangement of the atoms and alters

²² We must keep in mind here, as Lucretius did, his demonstration (see this Analysis, II, A, 15), that there are divers kinds of atoms in each *res genita*.

their movement, in a word dissolves their union (947-953). Recovery from a blow means that the union, though disarranged for a time, is restored (954-962). Again, the phenomena of pleasure and pain show that sensation is due to the union of the atoms, not to the atoms *per se*. Pain is due to the disturbance of the union of the atoms (963-965), pleasure to a resumption of the *status quo ante*, that is, these sensations are due to movements of groups of atoms (966). The isolated, individual atoms can experience neither pleasure nor pain (967-972).

- (7) The assumption that the atoms *per se* have sense leads to wildly absurd results, e. g. to the conclusion that the atoms of human beings laugh and cry and think, yes, even think about atoms! (973-990).

(To be concluded)

C. K.

REVIEWS

Social and Private Life at Rome in the Time of Plautus and Terence. By Georgia Williams Leffingwell. (Volume XXXI, No. 1, of the Columbia Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law). New York: Columbia University Press (Longmans, Green and Co., Agents: 1918). Pp. 137.

This doctoral dissertation was written under the direction of the Department of History. The subject was suggested by the late Professor Botsford, the work was apparently partly done during his lifetime, and the book is dedicated to his memory. It consists of an Introduction; eight Chapters, entitled respectively Dwelling (Town and Country), Women and Marriage, Children and Education, Slaves, Freedmen and Clients, Finance and Industry, Religion, Morals and Character; and Bibliography. It is well written in clear and readable English¹.

Miss Leffingwell states it to be her purpose to assemble as far as possible the source evidence on social and private life during the first half of the second century B.C., and from this evidence to draw certain conclusions which will give a clearer understanding of the habits of thought and the feelings of the average citizen of the time.

If the author had adhered to the first part of her purpose, she would have produced a very useful book, but even her own material is not completely cited, as she herself informs us (page 19), "Frequently . . . all the references which have been found on a given point are not mentioned", but she hopes that "enough are cited to be significant and . . . conclusive". In a work of this kind lack of completeness in the material is a serious detriment, for the process of inference—the second part of Miss Leffingwell's purpose—is so difficult

that one needs all the facts upon which such inference can be based. If the inclusion of all her material would have made the book too large, it would have been better to restrict the number of the topics and give the full material for those selected. In fact the scope of the work is too ambitious for most candidates for the degree of Ph.D.; the topic of slaves alone, for example, is an ample subject for a dissertation.

The difficulty of the task which Miss Leffingwell has undertaken is sufficiently indicated by the fact that the work of a century on different parts of it has failed to produce results which are in general satisfactory to scholars. In 1811 the University of Copenhagen offered a prize for a study which should determine what is Roman and what is Greek in the dramatic methods of Plautus and Terence, and in 1912 Friedrich Leo asserted that the topics of law, of military, domestic, city, and country life, and others like them, require new investigation with a view to the separation of the Roman and the Greek elements (Plautinische Forschungen², 112). Professor Leo gives some hints as to methods which may lead to better results.

This central difficulty—disentangling the mixture of Greek and Roman elements in Plautus and Terence—is recognized by Miss Leffingwell, and she devotes most of her Introduction to a discussion of it, aiming her remarks chiefly at Sellar and Legrand, who consider the plays so essentially Greek in content that they are of little value as a basis for inferences about Roman life. This extreme view hardly requires refutation; indeed it is the chief fault of Legrand's painstaking and valuable book³ that he assumes far too much in Plautus to be Greek. But Miss Leffingwell argues herself into the other extreme, for we read (18),

It may be assumed, therefore, that the majority of the habits and allusions contained in the comedies are either conclusively Roman, Roman with Greek antecedents, or Greek customs already introduced into Rome and familiar to the Romans.

Thus the author assumes at the outset the very point which should be proved in every case by investigation of her material before she draws from that material inferences about Roman life. Even if her argument in support of the foregoing assumption were sound, she errs in considering it valid for the "majority of habits and allusions", since even in accordance with this form of stating the case there is a residue of phenomena for which the assumption is not valid. But the fact is that no such blanket principle can be assumed. The groups of phenomena differ widely, and each group may involve and often does involve a different mixture of Greek and Roman elements; e. g. the license of the slaves seems Greek, but in the matter of food Italian pork products play a large part. Or take the titles praetor, aedilis,

²Miss Leffingwell consistently spells "Legrand", and she refers to the French classicist's work as "Matière de la comédie nouvelle". This is merely the title of the first part of his book *Daos. Tableau de la Comédie Grecque pendant la période dite Nouvelle (Κωμωδία Νέα)*, Lyons, 1910, which Mr. James Loeb has translated in condensed form as *The New Greek Comedy* (1917).

¹There are, however, a good many annoying misprints and small errors, e. g. *nulrex* (for *nulrix*) repeatedly.

etc. These are Roman official titles, but it is a well known habit of the Romans to translate foreign official titles into Latin terms (compare Cicero, *Nepos*, etc.), and therefore such a word in Plautus may represent now a Greek official, now a Roman. Thus, *Tri. 990 vapulabis meo arbitratu et novorum aedilium* very probably refers to Roman officials who had recently entered on their term of office; but in *Rud. 373 aedilis* may represent a Greek official title (compare *Sonnenschein's* note). In the first case, therefore, the reference is wholly Roman, in the second only the word is Roman. To argue, as Miss Leffingwell does (13 ff.), that such references as the second were intelligible to the Romans, citing as proof the Greek words in Plautus, the explanations which he sometimes attaches to things un-Roman, or the changes which he sometimes makes in such things, is not convincing. A given phenomenon may have been perfectly intelligible and yet not Roman. Moreover, there are many things in Plautus which can hardly have been intelligible to the vast majority of the audience, and yet he allows them to stand without explanation, e. g. rare mythological allusions. It has been argued indeed that the very strangeness of many things in the *comœdia palliata* added to the interest of the plays; the existence of the togata side by side with the *palliata* lends considerable support to this view. But however this may be, it is not proper to use as a general argument, in support of the view that the life in the plays is Roman, the statement (16) that

the verisimilitude, the realism, and hence the success of a theatrical presentation has its foundation in the reproduction of the habits of every-day life.

This statement is contradicted by many of the best scenes in the plays, and indeed by the history of the drama in all ages³.

The only method of attaining reliable results in the present problem is, as Leo and others have pointed out, to separate in each phenomenon the Roman from the Greek elements. Only after this has been done is it possible to make inferences about Roman life, and it is precisely because it has not been done at all or not consistently that so much of the work in this field is unreliable—the large handbooks and the special literature exhibit in general the same defect. The task is very difficult because of the great dearth of other contemporary Roman material with which to compare the statements of Plautus and Terence. *Frederhsausen*, who works by a correct method and whose dissertation, *De Iure Plautino et Terentiano*, would have been very useful to Miss Leffingwell, criticizes the writers on Roman law—*Voigt*, *Karlowa* (to whom Miss Leffingwell often refers), *Bekker*, etc.—for assuming that what *can* be Roman is Roman without investigating what Greek elements may lie in the background, and adds that

³At page 15, note, the treatment of the Greek original of the *Epidicus* is referred to as an illustration of the way Plautus altered Greek customs which were abhorrent to his audience—in this case the marriage of a youth to his half-sister by a different father was cut out of the play. Miss Leffingwell states wrongly that "Attic laws permitted the marriage of brother and sister".

Meier and *Schoemann* use many of the same passages as a basis of inferences about Greek law!

Miss Leffingwell considers that agreement between Plautus and Cato, Polybius, Livy, etc., "verify the belief as to the value of the comedies as a field of information". Cato and Polybius are indeed our closest approximation to contemporary evidence, but they are silent about a great many things of which the present book treats, and the author is unable to resist the temptation to make inferences from the agreements of Plautus and Livy, or Cicero, or Aulus Gellius, etc., without investigating the sources of these later writers. Moreover, all the evidence from Roman sources, including that of writers like Polybius or Plutarch who are writing in Greek but dealing often with Roman subjects, should be constantly checked up by a study of the sources of Greek life for the period in question—especially the fragments of the New Comedy upon which the *comœdia palliata* is almost exclusively based. The neglect of this procedure is the great defect of the book. Miss Leffingwell's handbooks are predominantly those dealing with Roman life and she rarely cites Greek material; e. g. in the entire chapter on Women and Marriage I do not find a single reference to Greek writers or evidence.

In the Bibliography I miss Kock's (or Meineke's) fragments of Greek comedy, Koerte's *Menandrea*, Lucilius, and the best commentaries on Plautus and Terence, e. g. *Brix-Niemeyer*, *Sonnenschein*, *Dziatzko-Hauler* (*Phormio*), *Dziatzko-Kauer* (*Adelphoe*), *Spengel-Rottmann* (*Adelphoe*), etc. The only annotated edition of Plautus mentioned is *Ramsay's Mostellaria* (1869), which has long been antiquated on many points. Some of the texts cited are not the best, e. g. *Spengel's* edition of Varro, *De Lingua Latina*; *Goetz* (1910) is now the standard. *Rassow's* index of nouns in Plautus is also very useful in work of this sort. The special literature connected with various aspects of the work is very scantily cited. This is explained in the statement (Introduction, 19):

Modern works have been read extensively in the preparation of the following study. The results obtained, however, were largely negative, owing . . . to the lack of attention which has been paid to this particular period. For that reason only those books have been cited in the bibliography which are specifically quoted or from which definite material has been drawn.

Since, however, the present work belongs to the category of special literature, it would seem proper to mention more freely those who have attempted to solve parts of the same problem, especially since they have collected much of the same material, e. g. (on religion) *T. Hubrich*, *De Diis Plautinis et Terentianis* (1883), *A. Kieseberg*, *Quaestiones ad Religionem Spectantes* (1884), *Ostermayer*, *De Historia Fabulari* (1884), and the dissertation of *O. Frederhsausen* (mentioned above), together with its continuation in *Hermes* 47. Among the handbooks there is no mention of *Pauly-Wissowa*.

The general impression one gains in reading the book is one of uncertainty. Undoubtedly a great many of

the inferences made concerning Roman life are correct, but one cannot feel sure because the other side of the picture, Greek life in the period of the New Comedy, is not presented. Undoubtedly also many points cannot be settled, with our present evidence, by any method; with regard to these the proper procedure is to state the *non liquet*. The book will be of some use as a partial summary of the material on private life in Plautus, Terence, Cato, Polybius, etc., but the reader will have to determine in a very large number of instances whether the details were, in the time of Plautus and Terence, Greek or Roman.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE.

ARTHUR L. WHEELER.

Ancient History. Second Revised Edition. By Philip Van Ness Myers. Boston: Ginn and Company (1916). Pp. xviii + 592. \$1.64.

Three important problems which face the author of a text-book in ancient history for use in Secondary Schools are the point at which he should terminate his narrative, the relative amount of space to be allotted to the treatment of the various peoples of antiquity, and the selection of the episodes which will form a clear and connected narrative of the history of each.

The new edition of Myers's Ancient History covers the period from the Old Stone Age to 800 A. D. To those who regard ancient civilization as disintegrating after the crisis of the third century A.D., this will seem to include a large period of strictly mediaeval history. But there is no sharp break between antiquity and the Middle Ages, and it will always depend upon the individual judgment and the exigencies of the School curriculum whether these transitional centuries are to form the epilogue to ancient or the prologue to mediaeval history. With regard to the second problem the author is to be congratulated upon having avoided the pitfall into which the authors of some recent text-books have been entrapped, namely, of assigning undue space to the history and civilization of Egypt and Assyria. The influence of these lands upon modern European civilization has been indirect and of relatively small moment; consequently, in a text-book of this type they should not receive by any means so lengthy a treatment as Greece or Rome. The third problem has likewise been met in a satisfactory manner. Particularly good are the chapters on ancient society and the various aspects of its civilization; the contributions of each age and people to the civilization of subsequent ages are shown in an admirable manner, which indeed may be said to be the chief merit of the book. Altogether, to one who has mastered its contents, Myers's Ancient History should serve as an excellent introduction to further historical study and point the way to an adequate appreciation of 'the living past'.

This second revised edition aims to incorporate the results of the most recent discovery and research. This object has, in the main, been well attained; nevertheless there are still some few points where, it seems to me,

the view of the text should be revised in the light of the recent judgment of historical scholarship. These I shall mention in the following paragraphs.

93¹: It might be mentioned that there are good reasons for believing that the Hittites belonged to the Indo-European speech-group. 154: It seems that the number ten thousand is too high for the Spartans of military age. Probably they never exceeded four thousand, while the total number of Spartiatai, including women and children, was not over fifteen thousand (see Beloch, *Bevölkerung der Griechisch-Römischen Welt*, 141 ff.). 194 ff.: The account of the actual battle of Marathon is unsatisfactory (see Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*¹ 1.357 ff.; Grundy, *The Great Persian War*, Ch. IV.), and its results, important as they were, are exaggerated. It was not Marathon but Salamis and Plataea which decided the fate of Hellas. 198: It should be mentioned that the preparations of Xerxes did not go on uninterruptedly for eight years. The energies of Darius and Xerxes himself were absorbed in subduing the revolt of Egypt between 486 and 484. 201: The correct explanation of the small number of Greeks at Thermopylae is to be sought in the Greek plan of campaign, which was to meet and defeat the Persian fleet off Artemisium. Such a victory would force the withdrawal of the bulk, if not all, of the king's land forces. The garrison at Thermopylae was considered strong enough to hold its ground until the naval victory had been won (see Ernst Obst, *Der Feldzug des Xerxes*, Klio, Beiheft XII, 1913). 203: Athens was not burned by the Persians before Salamis, but when Mardonius evacuated Attica in 479 (see Herodotus 9.13). 203, note 1: The number of ships (750) assigned to the Persians at Salamis seems to be too high (see Obst, *op. cit.*, 90 ff.). 208: It seems to me that it is misleading to speak of Aristides as the first "president" of the Confederacy of Delos. At its inception this union was a military alliance, which hardly corresponds to our idea of a confederacy. Besides, we only know that Aristides actively promoted the league and apportioned the original obligations among its members. 209: The treasury of the league was transferred to Athens, after the Athenian disaster in Egypt, therefore in 454 B. C., not "about 457" (see Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*¹, 1.486. 238: I think one should hardly fail to mention the share of Persia in the last phase of the Peloponnesian War, and the influence of Persia upon Greek politics from that time until the rise of Macedon. 258, 259: The traditional numbers of the Persians at Issus and Arbela are hopelessly impossible, and had better be absolutely discarded in a text-book of this sort. On the other hand, there is no reference to the political value of Alexander's deification, in affording a legitimate basis for his rule over Greek cities and avoiding the stigma of a tyranny (see Eduard Meyer, *Kaiser Augustus*, in his *Kleine Schriften*, 457 ff., and W. S. Ferguson, *Greek Imperialism*, Ch. IV). 270: It might be

¹This and similar numbers refer to pages of the book.

worth while to point out that Boeotia had a federal constitution in the fifth century, and that this constitution largely influenced those of Achaia and Aetolia (see the *Oxyrhynchus Hellenica*, § 11). 318: Would it not be better to omit the Latin words *ipse dixit*, and rest content with the English translation? Pythagoras did not use the Latin phrase, but its Greek equivalent.

335, 336: I find it impossible to agree with the view taken of the influence of slavery upon Greek culture and political life; in particular with the statements, "it is believed that they <=the slaves> greatly outnumbered the free population", "Almost every freeman was a slave owner", and "Without the slaves the Attic democracy would have been an impossibility, for they alone enabled the poor, as well as the rich, to take a part in public affairs". I know that these opinions are still widely held, particularly by economists, but they do not harmonize with a rational interpretation of our sources. To argue this in detail would go beyond the limits of this review, but it may be pointed out that it was the system of remunerations for public services (indicated in the text) that permitted the poor Athenians to devote their time to public business. For a searching discussion of the problem see Eduard Meyer, *Die Wirtschaftliche Entwicklung des Altertums*, and *Die Sklaverei im Altertum*, in his *Kleine Schriften*.

353: It seems no longer possible to ascribe the so-called Servian Wall to the regal period of Rome; it belongs after the Celtic invasion of 387 B. C. (see H. S. Jones, *Companion to Roman History*, 68 f.). 368, 369: The legend that the military tribunes with consular powers were established to prevent the plebeians from attaining the consulship should, I believe, be definitely abandoned in view of the fact that Livy (4.7.2) offers another, much more reasonable, explanation, and that, although this office was first created in 444 B. C., no plebeian was elected to it until 392 (see Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, 5. 146). Nor can one be satisfied with the tale that the censorship was established to weaken the power of the military tribunate, so as to spite the plebs. Such a step was bound to be taken sooner or later to relieve the overburdened chief magistrates of some of their functions. It parallels the creation of the praetorship in 367 B. C.

372: It strikes one as rather inconsistent that the two secessions of the plebs in 494 and 450, which are deservedly suspected, should be given prominence in the text, while the unquestioned secession of 287 should not be mentioned, and the "famous" Hortensian Law be relegated to a footnote. Somewhere between this point and Chapter XXXVI, *The Last Century of the Republic*, etc., one naturally looks for an account of the new patricio-plebeian nobility and how, as an office-holding aristocracy, it governed the State. 401: Is not too much stress laid upon the corrupting influence of Greece upon Roman character? Were not the vast

accumulation of wealth in Roman hands and the absolute political supremacy of Rome more potent factors?

412: The law permitting the reelection of a tribune was passed shortly after 131, not by Gaius Gracchus in 123 B. C. 419: Mithradates did not become the real ruler of Pontus until 114 B. C. From 120 till 114 he was under the guardianship of his mother. 430: It was during, not at the end of, his consulship that Caesar secured his first command in Gaul. 463: Should not the account of Pliny's treatment of the Christians be completed by mention of Trajan's rescript embodying the imperial policy in this matter? 475: To describe the Later Roman Empire as an "undisguised oriental monarchy" and "an absolute Asiatic monarchy" is hardly correct. It is quite true that it was an autocracy, with the paraphernalia of the Persian court, embodying the principle of the divine right of kings; but the Roman Emperor was not an Asiatic despot, because of the method of his election and the checks upon his authority (see J. B. Bury, *The Constitution of the Later Roman Empire*). 487: The 40,000 Goths were not enlisted in the imperial legions but were taken into the imperial service as *foederati* under their own tribal commanders (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 3.130, ed. Bury).

[515:] In an account of the Roman historians, however brief, should Tacitus be dismissed with a reference to his *Germania* alone? 517: In explaining the growth of the Roman law during the Republic, mention should be made of the praetor's edict, as the chief agent in that development.

The General Bibliography (563-572) is a comprehensive list of books written in or translated into English, which should be a most useful guide for teachers or more advanced students. In spite of its comprehensiveness, however, there are a few titles which could well be added to it. One of these is W. S. Ferguson's *Greek Imperialism* (Boston, 1913), which gives the best brief exposition that we have in English of the imperial Athenian democracy, the Spartan constitution, the empire of Alexander the Great, and the Hellenistic monarchies. Another, which appeared since the publication of the book under review, is L. W. Hopkins's *Greek Leaders* (Boston, 1918), a series of excellent biographies, particularly adapted to the use of Secondary Schools. As biographical studies are those which make the strongest impression upon youthful students of history, the value of such a work is hard to overestimate. A third is J. B. Bury's lecture entitled *The Constitution of the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 1910). Others, which might be useful, are C. H. W. Johns's *Ancient Assyria* (Cambridge, 1912), D. G. Hogarth's *Ionia and the East* (Oxford, 1909), W. W. Tarn's *Antigonos Gonatas* (Oxford, 1913), and W. S. Ferguson's *Hellenistic Athens* (London, 1911).

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